

## Collaborating with the Ancients: Issues of Collaboration and Canonization in the *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*

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### Introduction: Collaboration Versus Influence

*Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō* (芭蕉翁絵詞伝 *Bashō ō ekotoba-den*) was completed in 1792 and presented to Gichūji Temple (義仲寺),<sup>1</sup> the site of Bashō's grave. The creative force behind this scroll was Goshōan Chōmu (五升庵長夢 1732-1795), a Kyoto literatus monk.<sup>2</sup> This text was the first complete biography of Matsuo Bashō (松尾芭蕉 1644-1694); it traced his life from his early years in Iga province, recording his numerous journeys throughout Japan, and concluding with a remarkably detailed account of his final days. The text and images portray Bashō as a poet who was inspired to lead a life of poverty and wandering due to a profound understanding of the Buddhist concept of impermanence (無常 *mujō*). Although this interpretation is only loosely based on the facts of Bashō's life, it fundamentally influenced the subsequent reception of Bashō's work and his canonization.

This paper analyzes the unusual collaborative effort that led to the creation of *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. The text and pictures of this scroll represent a collaborative effort in three key ways. First, as a picture-scroll, it embodies the synergy produced by the collaboration between a writer and painter. Second, the text represents the collaboration of Chōmu with Bashō and the writers of his school; a close reading of the text reveals that Chōmu, acting as an editor, skillfully molded the fictional writings of Bashō and the biographical writings of Bashō's disciples into a unified text. Finally, this text can be understood as a collaboration between Chōmu and the

numerous biographers of the late Heian period poet Saigyō (西行 1118-1190) in an attempt to create a "master narrative" of the poet-wanderer. The third mode of collaboration is crucial to understanding this scroll because it acts as a repudiation of Tanaka Michio's theory that the text and images of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* are closely modeled on *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* (一遍聖絵 *Ippen hijiri-e*), a biography of Priest Ippen (一遍上人 1239-1289), the founder of the Ji sect of Pure Land Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> Tanaka's theory is extremely reductive, fitting with neither the facts of Chōmu's life, nor the details of the scroll. Chōmu's view of haikai was clearly framed in Buddhist terms, and perhaps even Pure Land terms, but the Ji sect had little or no documentable influence on him.

In this study I will detail how *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* has extensive connections with Saigyō's biographies.<sup>4</sup> Specifically, this scroll contains numerous similarities to the text of the *Tale of Saigyō* (西行物語 *Saigyō monogatari*)<sup>5</sup> and the picture-scroll *Illustrated Tale of Saigyō* (西行物語絵巻 *Saigyō monogatari emaki*).<sup>6</sup> However, it would be equally erroneous to claim

<sup>3</sup> Tanaka Michio. "Hyōhaku imeji no gensō." In *Bashō Buson. Zusesu nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1978), p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> There are over forty extant versions of Saigyō's biography, including hand-copied manuscripts, picture-scrolls, picture books, and woodblock editions.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically the Shōhō-bon (正保本), which circulated widely in the Edo period in a woodblock-print edition. This text is reproduced in Kuwabara Hiroshi, *Saigyō monogatari zenchūshaku*. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> This text consists of two anonymous handscrolls that were created in the mid-Kamakura period (13th century). The first scroll, owned by Tokugawa Reimei (徳川黎明) is generally referred to as the Tokugawa scroll and the second scroll that was owned by the Manno family (万野) is called the Manno scroll. These two scrolls appear to have once been a single text and together will be referred to as *Illustrated Tales of Saigyō*.

<sup>1</sup> Gichūji Temple is located in the town of Zeze (膳所) in Kyoto Prefecture on the shore of Lake Biwa.

<sup>2</sup> See biography of Chōmu in Appendix Three.

that Chōmu's debt to Saigyō's biography was simply a matter of influence. Medieval biographies of literary and religious figures, especially those about Saigyō, tended to be based as much on a paradigm of fixed narrative and visual tropes as the facts of their actual lives.<sup>7</sup> Gustav Heldt explains the complexity involved in the process of creating the Saigyō biographies by stating that, "Like its protagonist, it has traveled through space and time, undergoing innumerable transformations over four hundred years as readers and (re)writers endowed it with their own imagining of Saigyō's life."<sup>8</sup> Thus, the myth of Saigyō served as a shared narrative paradigm into which various literary and visual tropes were incorporated. In writing Saigyō's biography, authors were not generally attempting to create an accurate depiction of his life; rather, they were building a "master narrative" of a wandering poet-priest. Obviously the idea of using Saigyō's biographies as a template for describing Bashō's life comes from Bashō's own prose. Bashō consciously emulates Saigyō in numerous passages of his prose and in his poems. Thus, the use of "master narrative" of a wandering poet-priest was facilitated and suggested by Bashō's own attempts to cast himself in this template.

A helpful tool for understanding this process is to compare centripetal and centrifugal biographical tendencies. The "master narrative" of the wandering poet-priest as represented by the biography of Saigyō, Bashō, and other figures such as Sōgi are centripetal; whereas Minamoto Yoshitsune (源義経 1159-1189) or Ono no Komachi (小野小町 dates uncertain) are part of a process of centrifugal biographies. Such a vast comparison is well beyond the scope of this project, but understanding in general terms the differences between these two biographical tendencies will

be helpful to frame the materials examined in this paper. In the case of biographical texts about Yoshitsune or Ono no Komachi, a single historical figure is depicted in countless, often contradictory, roles. Yoshitsune, for example, is at times depicted as a refined aristocrat, as in the Noh play *Benkei on a Boat* (船弁慶 *Funa benkei*), and other times as a powerful warrior, as in *The Tales of Heike* (平家物語 *Heike monogatari*). In this centrifugal pattern, a single historical figure's biography expands outward to fit many roles. On the other hand, the centripetal "master narrative" of the wandering-poet is a single role into which various historical figures are cast. Thus, whereas a single historical figure is split up into several roles in the centrifugal biographical pattern, the myriad events in several historical figures' lives are manipulated to fit into the main axis of the single master narrative in the centripetal method.

It should be noted that Bashō's autobiographical writings are clearly centrifugal; he described himself as playing a number of different roles. In addition to the wandering-poet role, which Chōmu focused on, Bashō described himself as a comic poet, a poetry teacher, a social outcast, and a directionless man looking for his place in the world. This study will contend that in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*, Chōmu intentionally ignored these elements of Bashō's personality and extended to his biography the centripetal discursive practice that formed the myth of Saigyō. Bashō is not simply compared to or modeled on Saigyō; rather Chōmu manipulated the structure and content of his text in order to fit with the shared narrative paradigm developed during the process of creating the myth of Saigyō. In *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō* Chōmu is not attempting to create an accurate depiction of Bashō's life, instead he is indirectly collaborating with the biographers of Saigyō by continuing the process of building a "master narrative" of a wandering poet priest. This study will analyze five key elements which are the core of this "master narrative" used in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*: listing of the protagonist's lineage (素性紹介 *sujō shōkai*); description of his awakening (発心 *hosshin*), reclusion (隠棲 *insei*), travel (行脚 *angya*); and, finally, a record of his death (往生 *ōjō*). Close analysis of this scroll

<sup>7</sup> See William R. LaFleur, "The Death and 'Lives' of Saigyō: Genesis of a Buddhist Sacred Biography" in Frank Reynolds and Donald Capps, eds., *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), pp. 343-61.

<sup>8</sup> Heldt, Gustav. "Saigyō's Traveling Tale: A Translation of Saigyō Monogatari." *Monumenta Nipponica* 52,4 (1997): 467.

reveals how Chōmu (re)wrote Bashō's biography to fit with these elements of the "master narrative."

### Section One: The Collaboration of Writer and Artist

The first sense in which *Illustrated Life of Bashō the Elder* is a collaborative effort is that it is the combined work of Chōmu and the artists. *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* was originally produced in two formats: the handscroll (卷子本 *kansubon*) and a wood-block print book (木版本 *mokuhanbon*).<sup>9</sup> The first format of *Illustrated Life of Bashō the Elder* was a three-scroll set of handscrolls with a handwritten text by Chōmu and paintings by Kanō Shōei (狩野正栄).<sup>10</sup> The hand scroll was completed in 1792 in preparation for the centennial of Bashō's death. Each of the scrolls is thirty-eight centimeters tall and over ten meters long.<sup>11</sup> A few months after the scrolls were completed, the wood-block print version of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* was published

with pictures by Yoshida Enbu (吉田偃武 1768-1816). The text of the handscroll, with only very minor alterations, was transferred to this print format. However, in order to fit the long and narrow pictures of the scroll into the two-page spread format of a wood-block picture book, the pictures had to be cropped in some places. Also, the designs of many of the pictures had to be simplified because the prints are monochromatic.<sup>12</sup>



**Figure 1:** Image 15 in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. In this scene from *Narrow Road to the Interior*, Bashō rides a horse through Nasu field as a boy and a girl follow him. In *Narrow Road*, Sora, who follows the children, composes a poem about the girl's name, Kasane. From Shiraiishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zutsu Nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 85.

<sup>9</sup> The scroll vanished for a number of years, its current location at Gichūji Temple is far removed from the centers of the Japanese art world, and it has never been satisfactorily reproduced. Thus, research on the original handscroll has been neglected. The two print versions, conversely, were extremely popular from the time of their printing. *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* achieved its wide influence in the print format.

<sup>10</sup> Very little is known about Shōei: the place and dates of his birth and death are unknown. It is believed that he studied under Eigawa'in Kanō Norinobu (栄川院狩野典信).

<sup>11</sup> The pictures are rendered in vivid colors and crisp details, the signature style of the Kanō School. The style of the pictures is warm and affable, but refined. The scenery and architectural elements are painted in a controlled and restrained manner, while the characters are drawn in a flowing style. The characters' amicable expressions are somewhat reminiscent of haiga (俳画) portraits. The point of view remains constant in the scroll: the viewer is placed slightly above and at a moderate distance from the characters depicted.

### Chōmu's Influence

There is considerable internal evidence that Chōmu had significant influence over the illustrations in the scroll. For example, the fifteenth image in the handscroll shows Bashō riding a horse through the Nasu field (Figure 1). This image is clearly based on a painting (Figure 2) by Nishijima Hyakusai (西島百歳 1688-1705), who was one of Bashō's students. After acquiring Nishijima's picture in Iga, Chōmu donated it to Gichūji

<sup>12</sup> In the modern era, the wood-block print book was reprinted with typeset letters. In this format, *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* was popular until recently. For example, in 1904, it was republished in the Pocket Masterpieces Series, where it was widely read.

Temple in 1783.<sup>13</sup> Evidently, Chōmu provided Shōei with this picture as reference material for the scroll.



**Figure 2:** Nishijima Hyakusai's portrait of Bashō riding a horse. Tanaka posits that because Hyakusai was a student of Bashō, Chōmu assumed that this must be an accurate portrait of Bashō. The rendering of the horse and Bashō clearly influenced Figure 1. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zusesu Nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 90.

There are two important factors which undoubtedly influenced Chōmu's decision to choose this picture as a reference. First, since Hyakusai was a disciple of Bashō and knew him personally, Chōmu undoubtedly believed that this picture was an accurate portrait. Also, this picture follows in a long line of portraits of wandering poets on horseback (Figures 3 and 4). Comparing Figures 2, 3, and 4, it is apparent that while the trope of wandering poet is easily identifiable, it is quite difficult to find any distinguishing characteristics in the portrayal of the people. Thus, on one hand, this image of Bashō minimizes his individuality and emphasizes his connection with the wandering poet trope. On the other hand, since the depiction of Bashō in the scroll is based on what Chōmu assumed were historically accurate materials, it also illustrates his attempt to create a faithful representation of the historical Bashō.

<sup>13</sup> Tanaka, *Hyōhaku*, p. 90.

This tension between historical fidelity and an attempt to fit Bashō into the role of the wandering poet is ubiquitous in the scroll.



**Figure 3:** Portait of Su Tung-P'o (蘇東坡像 Sotōba-Zō) by Kanō Tanyū (狩野探幽). From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zusesu Nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 90.

### Stock Elements

The format and style of the scroll intentionally avoids Edo period pictorial narrative techniques and emulates the visual style of medieval picture-scrolls. There was a strong tendency in Edo period scrolls to include the text, or at least dialogue, within the images. In *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, on the other hand, the thirty-three images<sup>14</sup> alternate with sections of text on separate sheets of paper. The pictures are a segmented narrative: each picture is a single-scene, epitomizing a moment from Bashō's life. No strong narrative continuity links the pictures, and there are no examples of pictorial techniques such as *iji dōzu* (異時同図) in which a character is depicted repeatedly in the same picture to show their movement through time. A scroll created in this manner might be described as roughly equivalent

<sup>14</sup> This number is possibly a reference to Buddhist numerical iconography such as the thirty-three forms of Kannon or the thirty-three temples dedicated to Kannon in the Kansai area.



**Figure 4:** Portrait of Tu Fu (杜子美図 Toshibi-zu). By Sesshū (雪舟). From Nakamura Tanio. *Sesshū. Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū* 4. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1976) 56.

to a film made today without sound or color: it represents an intentionally classical gesture not merely a stylistic choice. This simplified visual format evokes medieval narrative scrolls, thus implicitly framing Bashō's life in classical terms.

## Section Two: Collaboration of Writer and Editor

The second sense in which this text represents a collaboration is Chōmu working as Bashō's editor. Chōmu is occasionally identified as the author of the text; however, as nearly every word in every section of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* is taken from earlier sources, it is more appropriate to refer to him as the editor. These sources can be divided into three parts: sections concerning Bashō's youth, which are taken from earlier biographies; the main body of the text, which is based on Bashō's own prose; and, finally, the closing section about Bashō's last days, which is based chiefly on the diaries of his disciples. Chōmu spliced these various sources into a handscroll which reads smoothly and stands as a unified work. To achieve this fluidity, Chōmu made minor alterations to Bashō's prose, such as changing sections that were written in the first person to third person. Thus, despite the diversity of sources, the text is narrated in a unified voice.

Horikiri Minoru has pointed out that Chōmu is very faithful to these original documents. One of Chōmu's main goals in creating this text is clearly to faithfully pass on his many sources to future generations.<sup>15</sup> Also, as it contains much of Bashō's writings, the handscroll functions as a digest version of his prose.<sup>16</sup> While reading about Bashō's life, the reader is almost unconsciously introduced to his prose.

## Section Three: Protagonist's Lineage (素性紹介 *sujō shōkai*)

The first section of the scroll details Bashō's lineage, his early days in Iga province, the death of his feudal lord and his own narrow escape from death in a fire. A close reading of the text

<sup>15</sup> Shirane, Haruo and Tomi Suzuki, ed. *Sozō sareta koten*. (Tokyo: Shinnichisha, 1999), p. 338.

<sup>16</sup> Tanaka, *Hyōhaku*, p. 92.

from this section reveals prevalent similarities to Saigyō's biographies.<sup>17</sup> The text of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* opens with a long section tracing Bashō's lineage.

Let us inquire into Bashō the Elder's ancestry. In the line of the Kashiwara Emperor there was a man named Taira no Masamori, the governor of Hitachi province. Among his descendants there was Munekiyo the son of Taira no Suemunen. Munekiyo served under Kiyomori the Rokuhara Buddhist Novice, and he was considered to be of strong character, a leader even within the samurai of the Heike clan and a warrior without fault.<sup>18</sup>

After a long section dealing with Munekiyo the text continues:

After five generations, the person named Kiyomasa had many children, so the family divided into five parts: Yamakawa, Katsujima, Nishikawa, Matsuo and Kitagawa. For generations they lived in Tsuge. Finally there was a man named Matsuo Yozaemon who was the first to live in the province's capital, Iga Akasaka. This was Bashō's father. His mother is said to have come from Iyo province, but her family name is unknown. Together they had two boys and four girls. The heir was Gizae-mon Norikiyo, also called Hanzaemon. The second boy, named Munefusa (childhood name Kanesaku) was Master Bashō. Later he was called Tadayuemon. He was born at the beginning of the Shōhō era. Around the time of the Meireki era he left home and served the paymaster Yoshitada, the son of Tōdō

Shishichirō Yoshikyo.<sup>19</sup>

This mirrors the opening of *The Tale of Saigyō*, which begins:

In the reign of Retired Emperor Toba there was a man who served in the northern wing of that sovereign's palace. He was called Fujiwara no Norikiyo 藤原義清, lieutenant of the left division of the inner palace guards, known after he took religious vows as Saigyō. He was a sixteenth-generation descendant of Amatsukoyane-no-mikoto, and a ninth-generation descendant of Hidesato, generalissimo of the barbarian lands of the Ezo. He was the eldest son of Yasukiyo 康清, whose own father was Master Hidekiyo of the right division of the outer palace guards.<sup>20</sup>

The points of correlation between the two texts are numerous: both trace the protagonist's family lineage to an imperial ancestor; both follow the ancestry through a decorated military figure; and both define the protagonist's social station in terms of their fathers. As Kuwabara Hiroshi has pointed out, tracing the protagonist's bloodline back over many generations is an unusual feature of the *Tale of Saigyō* used to emphasize the protagonist's military heritage.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the similarities are not happenstance, but show that Chōmu is modeling Bashō's image on Saigyō from the opening lines.

Chōmu used facts from Kawaguchi Chikujin's (川口竹人) biography of Bashō, *Complete Biography of Master Shō* (蕉翁全伝 *Shō ō zenden*) to create the text of section one. However, the points mentioned above that mirror the language of the *Tale of Saigyō*, are missing or undeveloped in Chikujin's biography. Chikujin mentions Bashō's relation to Munekiyo in passing, but he does not flesh out what this means in terms of Bashō's personality or social status. Chōmu, on the other hand, created a lengthy section describing Munekiyo's life and personality. The importance that

<sup>17</sup> The story of *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* opens with Ippen already having become a monk and about to leave on his first journey. Thus, there is no need to consider its influence on this section of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*.

<sup>18</sup> All of the quotes from *The Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* are my translations from Ishikawa Katsuyoshi, ed. *Bashō zenshū. Nihon meicho zenshū, Edo bungei no bu.* (Tokyo: Nihon Meicho Zenshū Kanko, 1929), p. 913.

<sup>19</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 915.

<sup>20</sup> Heldt, p. 485.

<sup>21</sup> Kuwabara, p. 21.

Chōmu placed on this section is apparent because this is the only place in the text where he uses source materials not directly related to Bashō; most of the details in the text about Munekiyo were taken from *Tales of Heike* (平家物語 *Heike monogatari*) and *Tales of Heiji* (平治物語 *Heiji monogatari*).

Munekiyo's relation to Bashō is, of course, impossible to verify. Chōmu himself explained in a note included in the text of the scroll: "In *The Eastern Mirror* (吾妻鏡 *Azuma kagami*) Munekiyo is mentioned, but there are no detailed records of his last days. Therefore, I have followed the theory given by the people of Iga province."<sup>22</sup> If one is skeptical of this early biography and the folk tales passed down in Bashō's hometown, one might conclude that, in a literary sense, Munekiyo is a convenient person to pick as Bashō's ancestor (or at least to focus on) because the lack of facts about his life leaves a great deal of room for interpretation. Chōmu is clearly not simply explaining Bashō's ancestry, but, rather, using the description of Munekiyo as an introduction to Bashō.

The basic story of Munekiyo is told succinctly in the Kamakura era record *The Eastern Mirror*:

This Munekiyo is a servant of the Nun of the Lake. During the Heiji Rebellion, he was very kind to Yoritomo, whom he had captured. Because of that, Yoritomo ordered him to come to Kamakura, so that he might thank him. When the order to appear to Kamakura arrived, Kiyomori said to Mune-kiyo, "This order is for you." Munekiyo answered, "If we were going off to battle, I would be in the front line, but by accepting the invitation to Kamakura, would it not soil the original service? It would be shameful to go now at the moment of the downfall of the Heike clan.

In this way, all of the historical and fictional materials about Munekiyo emphasize his depth of feeling and his sense of loyalty. This echoes the *Tale of Saigyō*, where Saigyō is also depicted as a man of feeling and loyalty. For example, Saigyō

is said to have been a man so sensitive to the impermanence of the world that he was desperate to retire and become a priest, but he was also so loyal to his family and the Emperor that he was perplexed about what he should do.

Munekiyo's sensitivity was illustrated in his kindness to Yoritomo, a captured enemy. His loyalty to his clansmen is evidenced by his refusal to receive gifts that he in fact deserves, when the rest of his clan is being slaughtered in battle. Via the relationship between Sengin (Bashō's boyhood master) and Bashō, Chōmu describes Bashō as possessing these same two character traits. Thus, in the opening section the reader is presented with the three overlapping images of Bashō, Saigyō and Munekiyo, all of whom are described as men of deep feeling and great loyalty.<sup>23</sup>

Also, the original sources do not explain what finally became of Munekiyo. In *Tales of Heike* he simply refused to accompany Kiyomori to Kamakura, and no other information is given about him thereafter. *The Eastern Mirror* records Munekiyo saying, "I will go directly to the battle at Yashima," thus hinting that he died in battle with the rest of the Heike clan at Yashima. Chōmu's version of the story ends with the following:

In the end Munekiyo refused to go. However, while they were arguing many days passed. Realizing that departing so late for the battle in the western province he would lose face, he decided to go to the village of Uge in the district of Ahe in Iga province, where he had owned an estate for some years. Worried that the Kama-

<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note the points at which Chōmu's retelling of Munekiyo's story differs from the original tales. For example, when Yoritomo is sent into exile Munekiyo accompanied him as far as Ōmi. *Tales of Heike* states that he accompanied Yoritomo, because the Nun of the Lake had ordered him to do so. In Chōmu's text, on the other hand, it is stated that Munekiyo "so regretted" Yoritomo's departure that he accompanied him of his own volition. This change further emphasizes the characterization of Munekiyo as a man of deep feeling.

<sup>22</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 914.

kura Shogun might send people looking for him, Munekiyo changed his appearance and lived in hiding.<sup>24</sup>

The differences in this retelling of the story have important repercussions for the biography of Bashō. It serves to explain Bashō's low social standing in the best possible light. Munekiyo was forced to go into hiding in order to save face, so his descendants would of course be of a low social rank and relatively poor, however, they are not of vulgar stock. Rather, they are members of a proud line that declined due to violent times. Likewise, in the *Tale of Saigyō*, Saigyō's high station at court is based in large part on the military exploits of Hidesato, his ninth-generation ancestor.

#### Text One

This section deals with the relationship between Bashō and his boyhood master Sengin:

Around the time of the Meireki era Bashō left his boyhood home and served the paymaster Yoshitada, the son of Todo Shishichirō Yoshikiyo. Yoshitada was also known as Sengin. Between his practices in the military arts he enjoyed the way of elegant arts. He composed *waka* and *haikai*. He studied under the Master of the time Kitamura Ki-gin. Bashō followed him in his studies.<sup>25</sup>

While this passage may seem rather straightforward at first, many of Chōmu's assumptions can be unpacked from it. First of all, Chōmu characterizes Bashō as a man talented in both the military and literary arts; later, Chōmu again describes Bashō as "talented in both the ways of war and the arts."<sup>26</sup> This is one of the rare places where Chōmu appears to intentionally stray from the historical sources he was using. No previous Bashō biographical materials mention that he was skilled in both the ways of art and war. However, a precedent can be found in the *Tale of Saigyō*:

Born as he was into a household of the bow and arrow, he upheld his family's reputation in the military arts. In archery, he trained to become a Yang You, capable of scoring a hundred bullseyes, and he mastered Zhang Lang's Three Strategies. He also had a talent for the literary arts. Gathering fireflies and piling up snow to study by its reflected light, he familiarized himself with the old writings of the Sugawara and Ki houses.<sup>27</sup>

While Chōmu's claims about Bashō's military exploits are less elaborate, this passage is clearly the model he had in mind. The parallels are apparent: both texts mention archery as a key skill,<sup>28</sup> both comment on the protagonist's skill in art and military affairs, and both mention the protagonist's study of the popular art of the day as well as the classics.

#### Section Four: Description of Awakening (発心 *hosshin*)

Sengin's death is the topic of the next section of text. Chōmu describes it as one of the defining moments in Bashō's life. In doing so, he models his prose closely on the *Tale of Saigyō*:

In the fourth month of the sixth year of Kanbun, unexpectedly the Paymaster died. Munefusa hung the hair of his dead master around his neck and climbed Mt. Koya and dedicated it. He painfully felt this world's ephemerality and his heart seemed to flee his body (身を遁れんの心). So, he wished to leave the Toda family, but they regretted losing a man so talented in both the ways of war and the arts they did not allow him to go (文武のさへあるををしみて). At the end of that autumn, on a night when he was on night watch, he left by the pine near the gate. He wrote a hokku on a card and put it in the pillar of the Joson Actor Gate:

<sup>24</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 913.

<sup>25</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 916.

<sup>26</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 917.

<sup>27</sup> Heldt, p. 485.

<sup>28</sup> In Chōmu's text the word translated as "military arts" is *yuba* (矢馬) or the way of bow and horse.



Clouds will separate  
The two friends, after the migrating  
Wild goose's departure<sup>29</sup>

Tanaka argues this portion of the text is based on the Ippen scrolls, as the death of Ippen's mother is given as the reason for his taking the tonsure. However, the similarities with the *Tale of Saigyō* are truly striking.

In the *Tale of Saigyō*, the sudden death of his friend is stated as the reason for Saigyō taking the tonsure. Moreover, the wording in the two texts are nearly identical. After the death of Noriyasu, Saigyō realizes "the ephemerality of this world"<sup>30</sup> (世のはかなき事)<sup>31</sup> and "he felt his body was not his own, as pain stricken grief choked his heart"<sup>32</sup> (わが身も身ともおぼえず).<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the episode in which the Retired Emperor Toba is reluctant to allow Saigyō to take religious vows is mirrored in *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* in the line, "he wished to leave the Toda family, but they regretted losing a man so talented in both the ways of war and the arts that they did not allow him to go." Finally, both Bashō and Saigyō are said to have left the service of their master "in the autumn of that year."

*Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* also includes a painting of Bashō diving into a river to escape a fire that swept through Edo and burned down his hut (Figure 5). The text for this section was taken from *Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō* (芭蕉翁終焉記 *Bashō ō shūen ki*), by Takarai Kikaku (宝井其角). Chōmu's version reads:

The next year a fire erupted near his house.  
The houses in all directions around him  
were burning up, so there was nowhere to  
escape. He dove off the shore into the cur-  
rent of the river in front of his house. He  
ducked into some weeds and tried to bear

the smoke, and finally he escaped. Thus, he  
came to understand the principle of the  
Burning House and decided to live thereaf-  
ter without a home.<sup>34</sup>



**Figure 5:** Image number four in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. Bashō, shown in the lower right-hand corner (arrow), hides in the river to avoid the fire. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zusesu Nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 86.

Chōmu follows Kikaku in interpreting this event as the moment when Bashō truly became a wanderer. The vivid picture that accompanies this text is one of the largest in *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, which emphasizes the importance of the scene. By depicting Bashō as a tiny figure caught between the destructive forces of fire and water, the scroll reinforces the Buddhist concept of the world's ephemerality. Here again Chōmu highlights the trope of the wandering poet over the facts of Bashō's bibliography. Although the fire in the winter of 1682 is a documentable fact, Bashō never recorded a firsthand account of this time in his life. Thus, it is impossible to know conclusively if the events described in this section actually occurred and what, if any, effect they had on Bashō. In this section Chōmu is clearly speculating. Moreover, rather than downplaying this period of Bashō's life about which he had little documentary evidence Chōmu points to it as the turning point in Bashō's life. This decision must have been based on Chōmu's desire to

<sup>29</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 917.

<sup>30</sup> Heldt, p. 491.

<sup>31</sup> Kuwabara Hiroshi. *Saigyō monogatari*. Kodansha gakujitsu bunko (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1981), p. 51.

<sup>32</sup> Heldt, p. 491.

<sup>33</sup> Kuwabara, *Saigyō monogatari*, p. 51.

<sup>34</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 922.

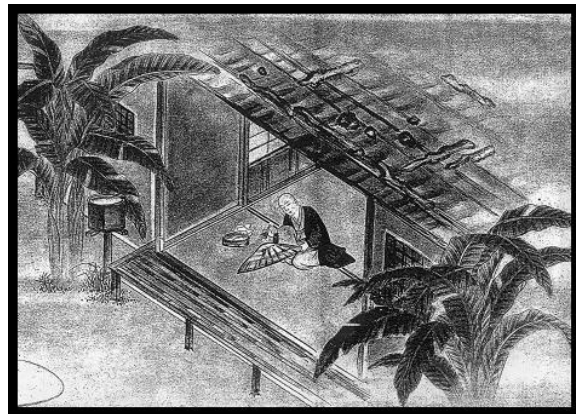
have an awakening (発心 *hosshin*) episode in the text.

In his own autobiographical writings, Bashō depicts a very different picture of how he came to live his particular lifestyle. Take for example the following passage from *Record of the Phantom Dwellings* (幻住案記 *Genjūan no ki*):

When I think back over the months and years of my frivolous life, I remember that once I coveted an official post with a tenure of land and at another time I was anxious to confine myself within the walls of a monastery. Yet I kept aimlessly wandering on like a cloud in the wind, all the while laboring to capture the beauty of flowers and birds. Finally, this became my occupation, and with no other talent or ability to rely on, I clung to this one thread.<sup>35</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that this is an extremely important passage in Bashō's writings because it is placed at the conclusion of the only *haibun* he published in his lifetime, and he repeated it almost verbatim in a passage in *Backpack Notes* (笈の小文 *Oi no kobumi*); a passage he used twice must be of particular significance. In this passage Bashō does not describe any cataclysmic event in his life that converted him into a wanderer. In fact, he states clearly that he never made an active decision to become a wanderer; rather, he began to follow this path by default because he was unable to do anything else. Chōmu quoted extensively from *Record of the Phantom Dwellings* and *Backpack Notes*, but omitted this key passage both times, clearly showing his editorial intent. Since Chōmu was modeling Bashō's biography after Saigyō's, he highlighted passages and images that portrayed his religious awakening, despite the lack of evidence for their historical accuracy and excluded passages from Bashō's own writing that cast doubt on this view.

<sup>35</sup> Imoto Nōichi, Hisatomi Tetsuo, Muramatsu Totsugu and Horikiri Minoru, eds. *Matsuo Bashō shū 2. Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 71*. (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1997), p. 303.



**Figure 6:** Image number three in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. Bashō sits in his hut making a traveler's hat. Bashō trees stand on either side of the hut. From Yasuda Yojūrō, ed. *Bashō ō ekotobaden genpon fukusei* (Kyoto: Rakushisya hozonkai, 1977), scroll one.

#### Section Five: Reclusion (隠棲 *insei*)

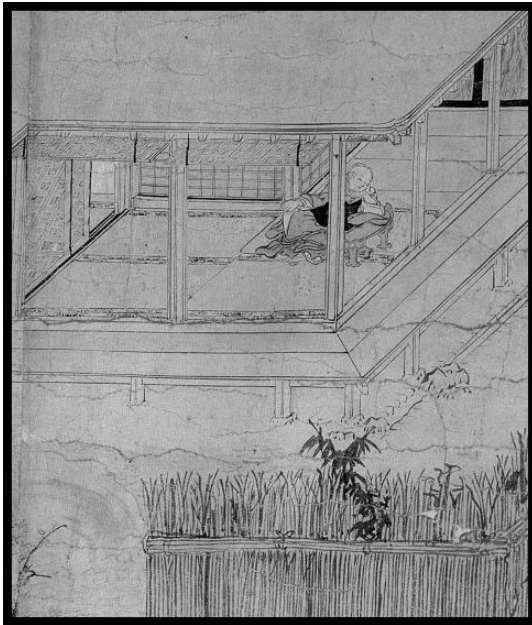
The third image in *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* (Figure 6), which depicts Bashō alone in his hut making a traveler's hat, is an excellent example of how this scroll participates in the visual discourse of medieval biographies. The depiction of a hermit alone in his hut and the traveler's hat are the iconographical symbols for reclusion (隠棲 *insei*). For example, Figure 7 and Figure 8 from the *Illustrated Tale of Saigyō* scroll depict Saigyō alone in his hut.<sup>36</sup> This image had become so symbolic of the life of a recluse that it is parodied in the *Jūnirui gassen emaki* (十二類合戦絵巻), where a badger is depicted mimicking Saigyō (Figure 9). The text of this section, which

<sup>36</sup> Like the drawing of Bashō, Saigyō's face looks young and boyish. Also, the pose of Bashō's figure is structured like Saigyō in Figure 7. The design and layout of the huts in both scrolls strongly resemble each other. In Figures 6 and 8, the rocks, boards and moss cover the roofs of the huts. There are food containers outside of the huts in all three illustrations, which are all painted in a similar manner. Finally, the brushwood fences in Figures 6 and 8 are rendered with such similar brushstrokes one could believe both were painted by the same painter.

is based on Bashō's haibun "Words on Moving A Banana Tree" (芭蕉を移す詞 *Bashō wo utsusu kotoba*)<sup>37</sup> and "Crafting a Hat" (笠はり *Kasa hari*)<sup>38</sup> reemphasizes this point.

From that time until the Enpō era he hid himself like a dragon in the mist and clouds, hibernating in the mountains, hiding in the ocean. However, eventually he parted the grasses of the Musashi plain and went to Edo where he lived in the place called Fukagawa, where he planted a banana (Bashō) tree ... Its easily tattered leaves reminded him of this world's ephemeral nature.

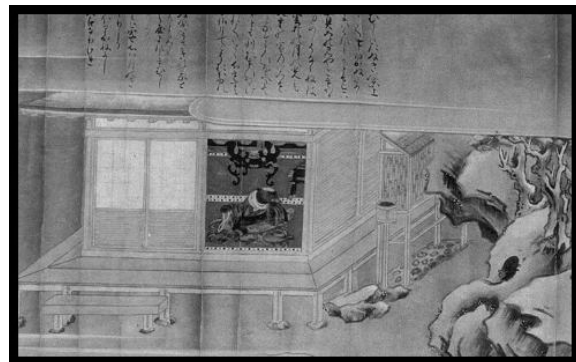
a banana plant in the autumn gale  
listening to rain drip in a basin  
at night



**Figure 7:** Saigyō in his hut from the Manno scroll (万野). From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Saigyō monogatari emaki*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988), 26.



**Figure 8:** From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Saigyō monogatari emaki*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988).



**Figure 9:** Badger mimicking Saigyō. From Prof. Kōmine Kazuaki's personal collection of images. The original from *Jūnirui Gassen emaki* (十二類合戦絵巻).

<sup>37</sup> Imoto, *Matsuo Bashō shū* 2, pp. 327-332.

<sup>38</sup> Imoto, *Matsuo Bashō shū* 2, p. 355.

When he was bored he wrote about making a traveler's hat. When the autumn wind sounds lonely, imitating the Bamboo Cutter, and borrowing Myōkan's sword, he cut and shaped bamboo. He called himself the Old Master of Hats. In the morning, he stretched on paper; and in the evening he dried it and stretched on more paper. He dyed the hat with persimmon. In twenty days it is finally finished. The hat slopes down and turns inward and outward at the edges so that it resembles a half-open lotus leaf. It is a most interesting shape. Is it the shabby hat that Saigyō wore? Or the hat that Su Tung-p'o wore? Shall I, he thought, travel to see the dew on Miyagi field? Or shall I take my walking cane to see the snows of distant Wu? ... Drenching himself once more in Sōgi's winter shower, he took up his brush and wrote on the inside of the hat.

life in the world  
just like a temporary shelter  
of Sōgi's!"

This text explicitly compares Bashō to earlier wandering poets such as Su Tung-p'o, Saigyō, and Sōgi. Through the mediums of the grass hut and the travel hat these various historical personages blend into a single character: the wandering poet. By quoting and splicing together these somewhat marginal prose pieces, Chōmu highlights one of the many characters that Bashō used to depict himself. Other characters Bashō used to describe himself, such as the mad comic poet, are completely excluded from Chōmu's text while this wandering poet character is repeated far more often than in Bashō's actual writings. Thus, the wandering poet character is made to appear to be Bashō's singular and authentic personality. Chōmu washes away Bashō's individual characteristics and recasts him in the generic role of the wandering poet.



**Figure 10:** Image number six in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. From Yasuda Yojūrō, ed. *Bashō ō ekotoba den genpon fukusei* (Kyoto: Rakushisya hozonkai, 1977), scroll one.

### Section Six: Travel (行脚 *angya*)

Chōmu's emphasis on the wandering and travel elements of the poet-priest narrative paradigm is evidenced by the fact that twenty of the thirty-three pictures in the scroll depict Bashō traveling. Also, nearly every picture in the scroll includes elements such as mist, roads, and flowing water. Repetition of these motifs creates visual continuity within the scroll. Moreover, these classical symbols of impermanence and travel reemphasize the image of Bashō as a wanderer.

The sixth image of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* (Figure 10) is another excellent example of visual connections with the biography of Saigyō.<sup>39</sup>

This picture is based on Bashō's poem:

芋洗ふ女西行ならば歌よまむ

*imo arau onna Saigyō naraba uta yomamu*

the potato washing woman  
if it were Saigyō  
he would compose a poem<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> This picture is also a visual parallel to the *Illustrated Tales of Saigyō* scroll (Figure 11) that depicts two women washing clothes, one with a child on her back. This picture seems to be based on Bashō's own rendering of the same scene in *Weathered Skeleton Scroll* (Figure 12). Moreover, the baskets and potato washing devices look very similar.

<sup>40</sup> Ishikawa, *Bashō zenshū*, p. 925.



**Figure 11:** A woman washing clothes in the Tokugawa Saigyō scroll (徳川). From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Saigyō Monogatari Emaki*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988) 26.

This poem is an example of Bashō explicitly drawing a parallel between himself and Saigyō. Here again Bashō begins the process of conflating his image with Saigyō, and Chōmu continues the process by focusing on these aspects of Bashō's texts. By choosing to illustrate these minor poems and incidents in Bashō's texts, Chōmu is clearly showing his editorial intent of paralleling Bashō's life with the template of Saigyō's biography.

#### *Utamakura*

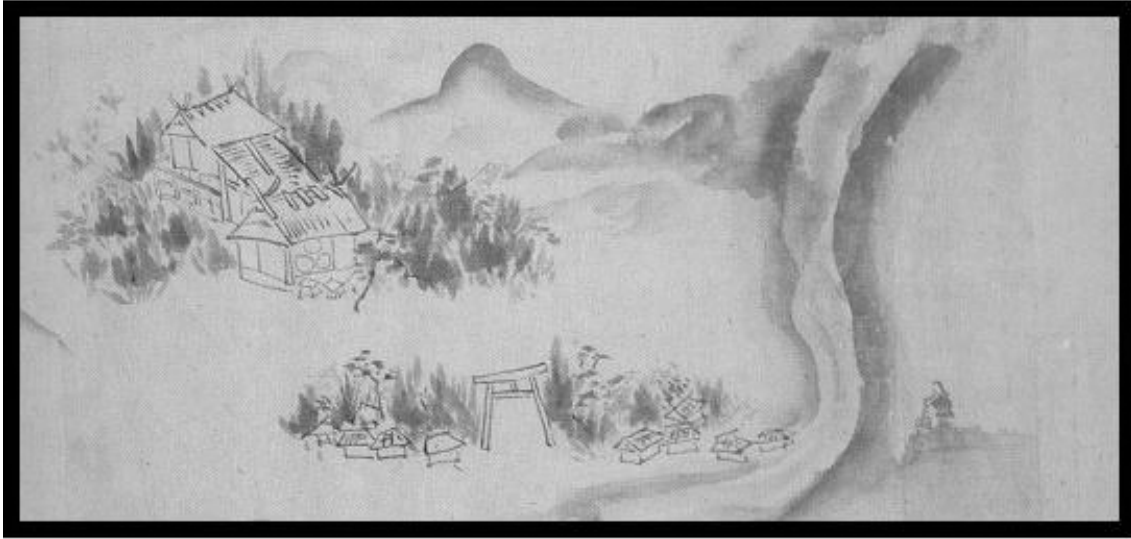
The places where Bashō is depicted traveling to in the scroll and the style in which they are depicted are also significant. The scroll includes pictures of famous classical poetic toponyms (歌枕 *utamakura*), including: Fuji River (富士川), Suma Bay (須磨), Mt. Yoshino (吉野山), Mt. Obasute (姨捨山), Nasu Fields (那須野), Shirakawa Barrier (白川関), and Matsu-shima (松島). Of course, Bashō wrote about a number of poetic places in his travel journals; an important part of haikai travel journals is the reworking of the poetic associations connected with

these famous sights.<sup>41</sup> However, Bashō also expanded the landscape of Japanese poetry by writing in detail about parts of Japan which were never mentioned in classical literature. The discovery of new poetic sights, or *haimakura* (俳枕), was also vital to Bashō's prose.<sup>42</sup> In the images of *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, however, the sections about new poetic places are generally not depicted.

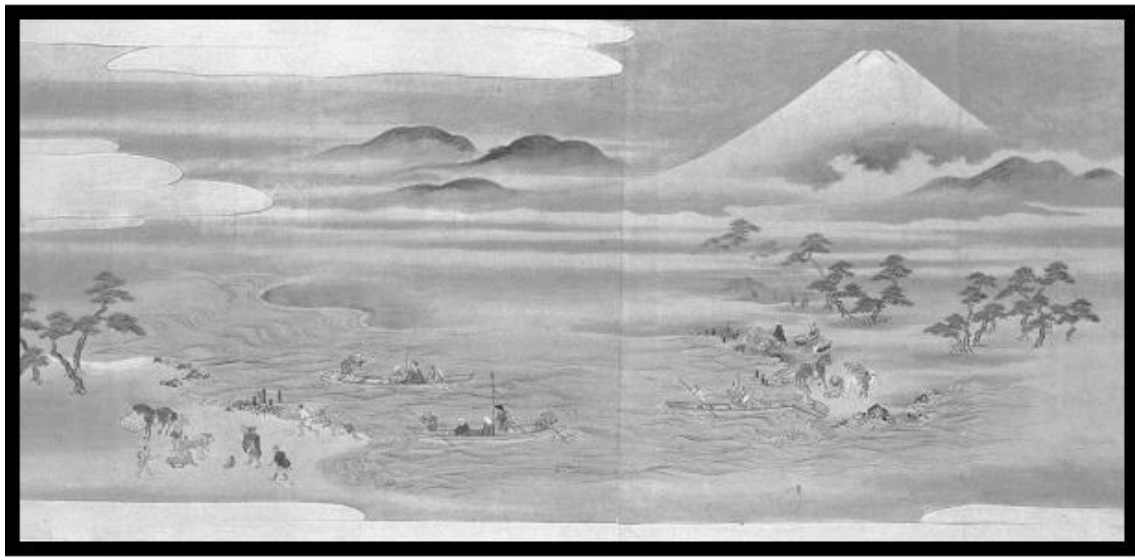
The role of *utamakura* in *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* is clear in the fifth image in the scroll (Figure 13), which depicts Bashō encountering an abandoned child, after he has crossed the Fuji River. Tanaka claims that this image is based on the landscape of the Fuji River in the *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* scroll (Figure 14). However, looking at the two images, it is obvious that there are only surface similarities, mainly the placement of Mt. Fuji in the upper right-hand corner and the river. It is important to remember that, based on the ninth chapter of *Tales of Ise* (伊勢物語 *Ise monogatari*), Fuji River came to symbolize the very idea of travel. So, the inclusion of this river in both scrolls is not surprising, and does not necessarily prove any direct correlation. For instance, in Bashō's own drawing of this scene in his *Weathered Skeleton Scroll* (Figure 15), the layout of pictorial elements is the same in *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*. The shape and rendering of Mt. Fuji is quite similar in figures 13 and 15, and both radically differ from the picture in *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen*. This scene has a parallel to the *Illustrated Tale of Saigyō* scroll as well. In Figure 16, Saigyō is shown crossing Yoshino River at the start of his lifelong wanderings. It is very likely that Chōmu had this in mind when he placed this scene at the start of section two, the starting point of Bashō's wanderings. The image of a traveler crossing a river was an important visual metaphor for travel. Although *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* participates in this discourse, it cannot be attributed to any one influence.

<sup>41</sup> Haruo Shirane. *Traces of Dreams*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 189.

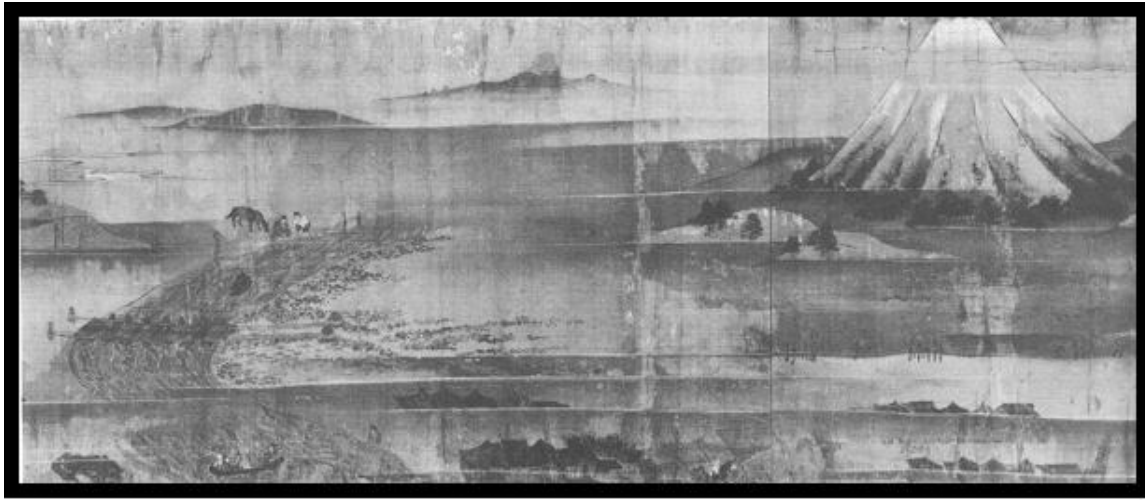
<sup>42</sup> Shirane, p. 241.



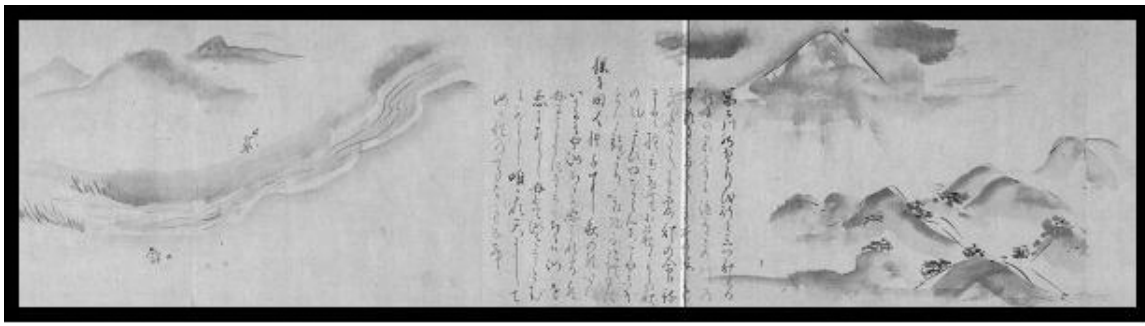
**Figure 12:** Bashō's own rendering of the potato washer. From, Shiraishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zusetsu Nihon no Koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 44.



**Figure 13:** Image number five in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. Bashō, shown in the bottom left hand corner, encounters an abandoned child. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zusetsu Nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 86.



**Figure 14:** Ippen crossing Fuji River. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zusesu Nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 93.



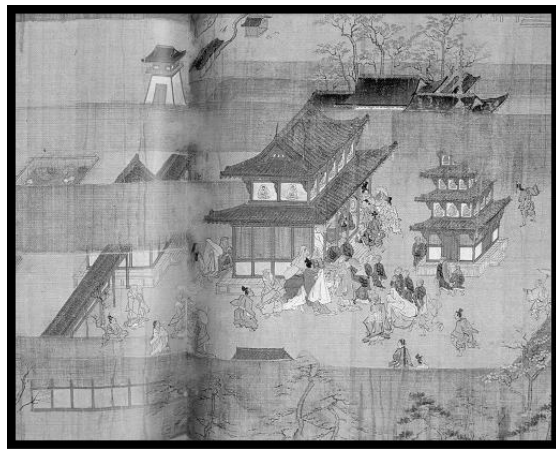
**Figure 15:** Bashō's own rendering of the scene of Mt. Fuji. From Shiraishi Teizō, ed. *Bashō Buson. Zusesu Nihon no koten* 14. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 42.

The use of *utamakura* also clearly reveals an attempt to emphasize Bashō's similarities to Saigyō. The two passages about Yoshino, for instance, make direct reference to Saigyō. Moreover, the inclusion of minor sites is also clearly based on a desire to emphasize Bashō's connections to Saigyō. The passages about Kisagata and Ichiburi are excellent examples of this phenomenon. Kisagata is a minor *utamakura* about which very few poems had been composed before Bashō's time. Bashō included it in his text because searching out new haimakura and obscure *utamakura* was one of the goals of his journey. Chōmu, however, includes this passage, which could hardly be considered of great biographical importance, in his biography because of its connection with Saigyō. Likewise, the passage about Ichiburi where Bashō meets two courtesans is a very minor event in his life. However, Chōmu includes it in Bashō's biography because it has numerous parallels to the biography of Saigyō, such as Saigyō's famous encounter with a prostitute from Eguchi who turns out to be Fugen Bodhisattva.

This use of *utamakura* parallels the *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* scroll, which also depicts numerous famous sites. There are, however, key differences in the way in which some famous sites, particularly temples and shrines are depicted. In the *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* scroll, the temples and shrines are all drawn with considerable architectural accuracy (Figure 17). Due to the explicitly religious objectives of this text, it was essential that the temples and shrines were accurately depicted. In *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, on the other hand, none of the buildings are drawn in any detail: usually, mist covers the buildings (Figure 18). Without the text it would be impossible to name any of the sites depicted in the scroll. In *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, famous temples and shrines are treated in the same manner as *utamakura*: they are reduced to visual icons.

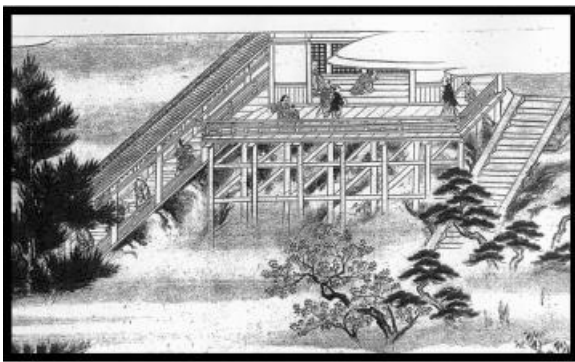


**Figure 16:** Saigyō crossing a river from the Manno scroll (万野). From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Saigyō monogatari emaki*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988), 39.

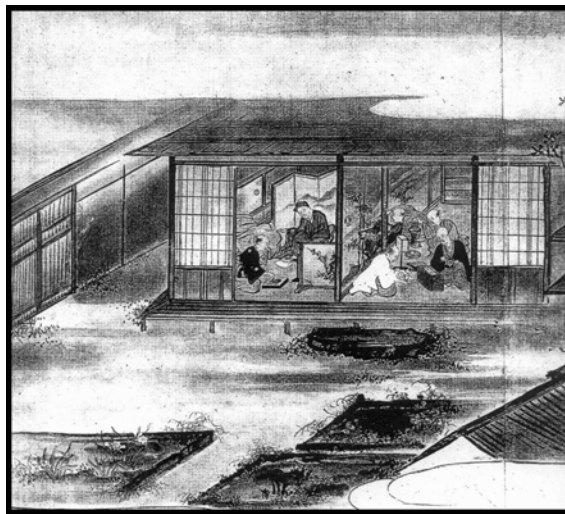


**Figure 17:** Ippen at Tennōji Temple. Note the realistic and precise detailing of the buildings. From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Ippen shōnin eden*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988) 220.





**Figure 18:** Image number seven in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. Bashō visits Second Month Hall (二月堂 Nigatsudō). This is the clearest depiction of a temple in this scroll. Even in this image clouds and mist obscure most of the buildings beyond recognition. From, Yasuda Yojūrō, ed. *Bashō ō ekotobaden genpon fukusei* (Kyoto: Rakushisya hozonkai, 1977), scroll one.

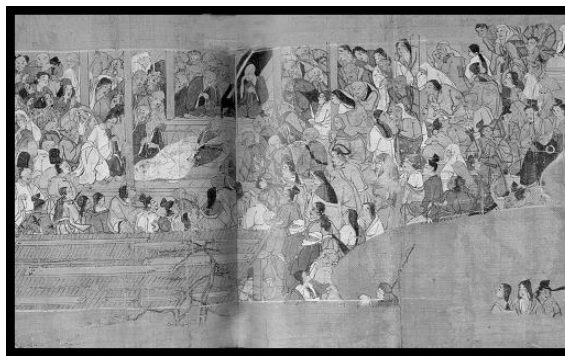


**Figure 19:** Image number thirty-one in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. From Yasuda Yojūrō, ed. *Bashō ō ekotoba den genpon fukusei* (Kyoto: Rakushisya hozonkai, 1977), scroll three.

### Section Seven: Death of the Master (往生 ōjō)

In the last three images in the scroll the source material underlying the text clearly shifts from material based on Saigyō and *utamakura* to material based on records of medieval priests' deaths (往生 ōjō). Tanaka argues that this section is based on the *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* scroll. However, as will be demonstrated, while both scrolls participate in the same discourse, there is no direct link between the two.

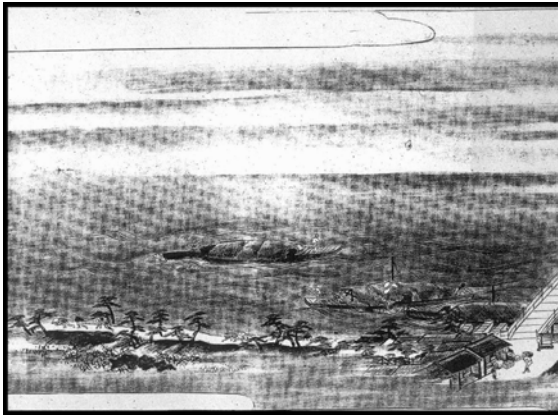
The thirty-first image in the scroll depicts Bashō on his deathbed as he writes his final poem (Figure 19). Bashō is placed in the center of the picture and his students look on from an adjacent room. Tanaka assumes the layout of this picture is based on Ippen's death scene in *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* (Figure 20). Indeed, both pictures are illustrated from a point of view outside of the garden looking slightly down into the room. However, this motif for depicting the last moments of a great teacher has its roots in pictures of the death of the Buddha and is in no way particular to the Ippen scroll. See, for example, Figure 21, which illustrates the death of Priest Shinran (親鸞上人). Moreover, Ippen is shown surrounded by countless disciples, whereas Bashō is shown with only four students.



**Figure 20:** Ippen's deathbed. From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Ippen shōnin eden*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988) 330.



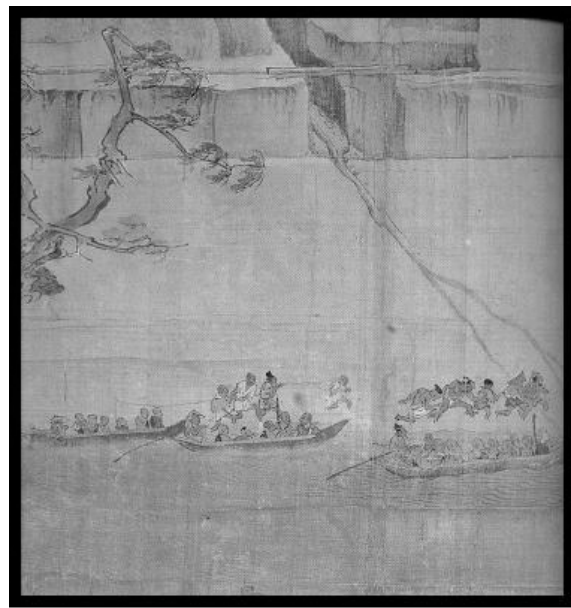
**Figure 21:** Death of Shinran. From Jōdono hon. *Books Esoterica* 7. (Tokyo: Gakushū kenkyūsha, 1993), 52.



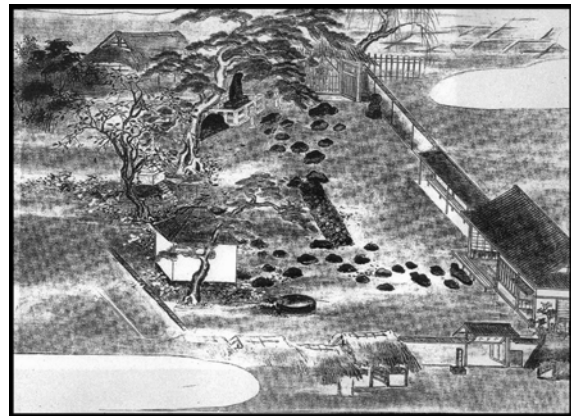
**Figure 22:** Image number thirty-two in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. Bashō's coffin is pulled up river by men standing on the bank (lower left-hand corner). From Yasuda Yojūrō, ed. *Bashō ō ekotobaden genpon fukusei* (Kyoto: Rakushisya hozonkai, 1977), scroll three.

Image Thirty-two of the scroll shows Bashō's coffin being carried up the Yodo River in a boat being pulled upstream by people holding ropes on the shore (Figure 22). In *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen* immediately preceeding the scene depicting Ippen's death, there is a drawing that shows Ippen and his students riding in a boat along the coast of Akashi that is being pulled by people standing on the shore (Figure 23). While there do seem to be similarities, it should be pointed out that Figure 13 also shows a boat being pulled from the shore, so it is doubtful there is any influence from *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen*.

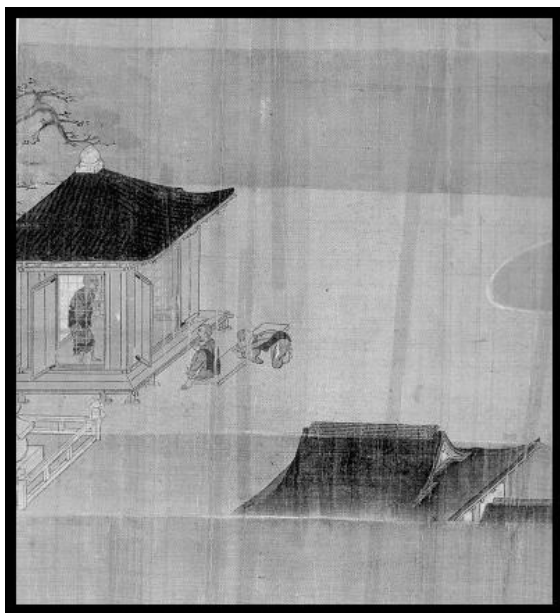
Image Thirty-three, the final image in the scroll, shows Gichūji Temple, where Bashō was buried (Figure 24). Tanaka claims this is clearly modeled on the final drawing in *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen*, (Figure 25) which depicts two monks praying at the master's grave. In both drawings, Tanaka explains, on the left-hand side is a pine tree and grave marker and on the right-hand side of the picture a hall which contains the likeness of the master. However, most scrolls about temples or Buddhist teachers end with a picture like this, so a direct parallel between the two scrolls is suspect.



**Figure 23:** Ippen's coffin in a boat. From Komatsu Shigemi, ed. *Ippen shōnin eden*. (Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, 1988) 305.



**Figure 24:** Image number thirty-three in *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*. From Yasuda Yojūrō, ed. *Bashō ō ekotobaden genpon fukusei* (Kyoto: Rakushisya hozonkai, 1977), scroll three.



**Figure 25:** Ippen's grave. From Komatsu Shigemī, ed. *Ippen shōnin eden*. (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1988), 332.

### Conclusion

In *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō the Elder*, the synergistic collaboration between Chōmu and Kanō Shōei created not only a dramatic biography of Bashō, but also a highly refined “master narrative” of the wandering poet-priest. By using stock visual elements (such as mist and flowing water), the visual discourse associated with poetic toponyms (*utamakura*), and direct allusions to the *Illustrated Tale of Saigyō*, this scroll recasts Bashō in the image of a medieval literary and religious figure. The pictures depicting Bashō's reclusion and wandering are clearly based on Saigyō's biography. The pictures of the final section are clearly modeled on records about the death of Buddhist teachers; however, this does not constitute a direct reference to *Illustrated Life of Priest Ippen*. Conversely, this study has explicated in detail that *Illustrated Life of Master Bashō* has extensive connections with Saigyō biographies, particularly in the use of the five key elements of the wandering poet priest master narrative: listing of the protagonist's lineage (素性紹介 *sujō shōkai*); description of his awakening (発心 *hosshin*), reclusion (隠棲 *insei*); travel (行脚 *angya*); and, finally, a record of his death (往生 *ōjō*).

If we are to view this scroll as being created via a collaborative process, we must also understand that it was not a process in which each participant had equal input. Clearly, the biographies of Saigyō had a disproportionate influence. This scroll has numerous similarities with the text of the *Tale of Saigyō* (西行物語) and the picture-scroll *Illustrated Tale of Saigyō* (西行物語絵巻). Chōmu picked among the numerous events of Bashō's life for content that fits with this narrative, he fabricates some events, and he adds some new material found neither in historical accounts of Bashō nor in Saigyō's biography, but which fit the narrative paradigm. Moreover, Chōmu organized the structure and content of his text in order to fit with the shared narrative paradigm developed during the process of creating the myth of Saigyō. In *Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō*, Chōmu is not attempting to create an accurate depiction of Bashō's life, rather he is collaborating with the biographers of Saigyō by continuing the process of building a “master narrative” of a wandering poet priest.

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### **Appendix One: Bashō Biographies**

- Diary of the Memorial Services for Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁追善之日記』 (*Bashō ō tsuizen no nikki*), by Kagami Shikō (各務支考), 1694.
- "Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō" 『芭蕉翁終焉記』 (*Bashō ō shūen ki*), in *Withered Pampas Grass* 『枯尾花』 (*Kare o-bana*), by Takarai Kikaku (宝井其角), 1694.
- Backpack Diary* 『笈日記』 (*Oi nikki*), by Kagami Shikō (各務支考), 1695.
- Record of the Deportment of Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁行状記』 (*Bashō ō gyōjōki*), by Inbe Rotsu (齋部路通), 1695.
- Complete Biography of Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁全伝』 (*Bashō ō zenden*), by Hattori Dohō (服部土芳). This work greatly influenced Chikujin. It no longer exists.
- Tales of the Master Bashō the Beggar* 『芭蕉翁頭陀物語』 (*Bashō ō zuda monogatari*), by Tamura Ryōtai (多村涼袋), 1751.
- Complete Biography of Master Shō* 『蕉翁全伝』 (*Shō ō zenden*), by Kawaguchi Chikujin (川口竹人), 1762.
- Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁絵詞伝』 (*Bashō ō ekotoba den*), by Goshōan Chōmu (五升庵蝶夢), 1792.
- Biography of Master Bashō* 『芭蕉翁伝』 (*Bashō ō den*), by Kanryō (寒寥), 1801.

### **Appendix Two: Outline of Illustrated Biography of Master Bashō**

Text and Illustrations    Source Text

#### **Section One**

##### Introduction

- Text one *Complete Biography of Master Shō* 『蕉翁全伝』
- Picture 1-Pulling a horse
- Text two *Complete Biography of Master Shō* 『蕉翁全伝』
- Picture 2- Finding poem card
- Text three "Words on Moving a Banana Tree" 「芭蕉を移す」
- Picture 3- In his hut
- Text four "Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō" 「芭蕉翁終焉記」
- Picture 4- Escaping the fire

#### **Section Two**

- Text of five *Record of Weather-Exposed Skeleton* 『野晒紀行』
- Picture 5- Fuji River
- Text of six *Record of Weather-Exposed Skeleton* 『野晒紀行』
- Picture 6- Potato washers
- Text of seven *Record of Weather-Exposed Skeleton* 『野晒紀行』
- Picture 7- 2nd month Hall
- Text of eight *A Visit to Kashima Shrine* 『鹿島紀行』
- Picture 8- Poetry meeting
- Text of nine *The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel* 『笈の小文』
- Picture 9- Falling from horse
- Text of ten *The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel* 『笈の小文』
- Picture 10- New Great Buddha
- Text of eleven *The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel* 『笈の小文』
- Picture 11-Mt. Yoshino
- Text of twelve *The Record of Travel-Worn Satchel* 『笈の小文』
- Picture 12- Suma bay
- Text of thirteen *The Record of Travel-Worn*

- Satchel* 『笈の小文』  
 Picture 13- Cormorant fishing  
 Text of fourteen *A Visit to Sarashina Village*  
 『更科紀行』  
 Picture 14- Mt. Obasute  
 Text of fifteen *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 15- Nasu Fields  
 Text of sixteen *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 16- Shirakawa Gate  
 Text of seventeen *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 17- Jar Stone marker  
 Text of eighteen *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 18- Matsushima  
 Text of nineteen *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 19- Mt. Moon  
 Text of twenty *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 20- Kisagata  
 Text of twenty-one *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 21- Ichiburi coast  
 Text of twenty-two *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 22- Tada Shrine  
 Text twenty-three *Narrow Road to the Interior*  
 『奥の細道』  
 Picture 23- Futami Bay  
 Text twenty-four *Record of the Phantom Hut*  
 『幻住庵記』  
 Picture 24- Phantom Hut  
 Text twenty-five “House of the Fallen Persimmons” 「落柿舎」  
 Picture 25- House of the Fallen Persimmons  
 Text twenty-six *Saga Diary* 『嵯峨日記』  
 Picture 26- Kyoto  
 Text twenty-seven “Izayoi” 「いざよひ」  
 Picture 27- Uidmi Hall  
 Text twenty-eight “Words on Moving a Banana Tree” 「芭蕉を移す」  
 Picture 28- Planting a Pine

### Section Three

- Text twenty-nine Backpack Diary 『笈日記』

- Picture 29- Mt. Arashi  
 Text thirty Backpack Diary 『笈日記』  
 Picture 30- Nara  
 Text thirty-one Backpack Diary 『笈日記』  
 Picture 31-Sick Bed  
 Text thirty-two “Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō” 「芭蕉翁終焉記」  
 Picture 32- Boats on Yodo River  
 Text thirty-three “Record of the Last Moments of Master Bashō” 「芭蕉翁終焉記」  
 Picture 33- Gichuji Temple  
 Conclusion

### Appendix Three: Chōmu's Biography

Facts about Chōmu's life are scattered. His real name is unknown: only his haikai penname appears in historical records. He was born in Kyoto in 1732. When he was nine years old he became a Buddhist monk in the Jishū sect and entered Hokokuji temple in Kyoto. Four years later he converted to the Pure Land sect and entered Kihaku-in Temple, a branch of Amidaji Temple. In his early-twenties he became the head priest of Kihaku-in. However, in 1766 he resigned his position, and two years later he built a hut in Okazaki in eastern Kyoto, where he lived as a hermit. Chōmu traveled widely during the rest of his life, but he resided in this hut until his death in 1795.

While Chōmu was marginally affiliated with Buddhist activities even after he resigned from his post as head priest, for the last thirty years of his life (from the time he became a hermit until his death) he devoted most of his time and energy to haikai poetry. He was especially active in the movement to exalt Bashō. Chōmu collected money from poets throughout Japan in order to revamp and maintain Gichiji Temple, the site in Saga where Bashō is buried. He started the practice of yearly and monthly memorials at the temple. He was also instrumental in the inspiration of Shōmon (Bashō School) poets throughout Japan. He tried to foster a sense of reverence for Bashō in the members of the Shōmon school, supported the building of Bashō grave markers, and encouraged greater connections and unity among Shō-

mon members. Finally, he was invaluable as an editor and compiler of Bashō's writings. Chōmu's collections were the definitive texts of the Bashō canon for many years and are still an invaluable reference for scholars when editing Bashō anthologies. Considering Chōmu's considerable efforts in publishing Bashō's work, it is easy to understand his desire to create a work like *The Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, which would make Bashō's texts available to readers of future generations. Chōmu's extensive experience working with the texts and pictures relating to Bashō's poetry and life made him uniquely qualified to create *The Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*.

Chōmu became interested in haikai in 1759 when he visited Tsuruga, Echizen. In the ninth lunar month, the annual "road making" ceremony is performed at Kehi Temple. Hokokuji Temple in Kyoto, where Chōmu was studying, was in charge of assisting in the ceremony. Thus, Chōmu was sent to help in the preparations for the festival. This trip seems to have had an enormous impact on Chōmu's understanding of Bashō. Bashō had recorded his experience at this festival in *Narrow Road to the Interior*.

While Chōmu was visiting Tsuruga, he joined a renku writing party of the Shōmon School. At this time he began to think of haikai as a form of religious practice, or what he called True Style Haikai (正風俳諧 Shōfū haikai). He rapidly became even more interested in haikai as a form of religious art. In the context of his new understanding of haikai, his decision to becoming a hermit can be seen as a second taking of Buddhist vows. He had already retired from the secular world, now he was retreating from even the monastic world. He viewed haikai as a form of religious practice and dedicated the remainder of his life to this practice. This perspective of haikai as a religious art greatly influenced the representation of Bashō in *The Illustrated Life of Master Bashō*, which in turn profoundly effected all later generations' interpretations of his works.